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NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 IO-13

EUR-12 EB-07 OMB-01 AID-05 OPIC-03 SIL-01 PC-01 LAB-04

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FM AMEMBASSY KINGSTON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2426

INFO AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN

AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN

AMEMBASSY NASSAU

AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 KINGSTON 3965

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, JM, US

SUBJECT: A PRIMER ON DESTABILIZATION IN JAMAICA

1. SUMMARY. SINCE EARLY THIS YEAR CHARGES OF U.S. EFFORTS TO DESTABILIZE JAMAICA HAVE BECOME A MAJOR POLITICAL THEME IN JAMAICA. THE THEME WAS GIVEN INTERNATIONAL PROMINENCE AT SRI LANKA AND ELSEWHERE, IS BEING PUSHED BY CUBANS AND SOVIETS, AND WAS GIVEN ADDED LOCAL LIFE WITH THE VISIT TO JAMAICA OF PHILIP AGEE AND CHEDDI JAGAN. THE FOLLOWING IS AN EFFORT TO SPECIFY WHAT DESTABILIZATION MEANS FROM THE JAMAICAN POINT OF VIEW, I.E. WHAT ACTS OR EVENTS CONSTITUTE DESTABILIZATION, WHO IS DOING IT, WHO CHARGES IT, AND WHO BELIEVES IT. THE SPECIFICS WILL UNDOUBTEDLY CHANGE FROM TIME TO TIME BUT THE THEMES OUTLINED BELOW WILL IN THE MAIN CONTINUE TO BE AMONG THE MOST TROUBLESOME AT LEAST THROUGH THE JAMAICAN ELECTIONS IN 1977. IMPLICATIONS FOR U.S. POLICY AND PROGRAMS HERE WILL BE COVERED IN SUBSEQUENT MESSAGES. END SUMMARY.

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2. BACKGROUND. CHARGES OF U.S. DESTABILIZATION OF

JAMAICA FIRST APPEARED EARLY THIS YEAR AND AT THAT TIME ORIGINATED FOR THE MOST PART FROM A VARIETY OF SENIOR OFFICIALS INCLUDING PM MANLEY AND FONMIN THOMPSON. THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS SELDOM BEEN PUBLICLY (BUT OFTEN PRIVATELY) FINGERED BY ANY SENIOR OFFICIAL OF THE GOJ. RATHER, THERE HAVE BEEN REFERENCES TO "SINISTER EXTERNAL FORCES", "HOSTILE POWERS", ETC. WITHIN A CONTEXT WHICH LEAVES NO DOUBT THAT THE U.S. IS THE TARGET. ON AT LEAST ONE OCCASION FONMIN THOMPSON HAS MOVED TO THE NEXT STEP AND SUGGESTED THAT PERHAPS SOME AGENCIES OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, SUCH AS THE CIA, ARE ENGAGED IN DESTABILIZING ACTIVITIES WITHOUT THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND THIS EMBASSY. THE ALLEGED PURPOSE OF DESTABILIZATION IS TO CREATE SUFFICIENT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INSTABILITY AS TO BRING DOWN THE MANLEY GOVERNMENT OR AT LEAST MAKE IT TOE THE LINE IN AREAS OF IMPORTANCE TO THE U.S.

3. SINCE EARLY THIS SUMMER PRIME MINISTER MANLEY, FOLLOWING REPRESENTATIONS BY THE AMBASSADOR, HAS CEASED TO MAKE PUBLIC ALLEGATIONS ABOUT DESTABILIZATION, BUT MAY DO SO AGAIN AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE AGEE VISIT. HOWEVER, FONMIN THOMPSON HAS CONTINUED, MOST RECENTLY IN LONDON AND AT THE SRI LANKA NONALIGNED SUMMIT -- WHERE HE SPOKE "ON BEHALF" OF PM MANLEY. MOREOVER, SINCE JUNE MANLEY, OTHER CABINET MINISTERS, AND VARIOUS PNP OFFICIALS, HAVE HELD PRIVATE AND SEMI-PUBLIC SHOWINGS OF THE GRANADA FILM "THE RISE AND FALL OF THE CIA" FOR SELECTED AUDIENCES IN THEIR HOMES AND ELSEWHERE. THIS PAST SPRING THE PRIME MINISTER ADDRESSED A PNP RALLY IN HIS CONSTITUENCY WHERE THE SAME FILM WAS SHOWN.

4. BEYOND PUBLIC COMMENTS BY MANLEY AND OTHER SENIOR OFFICIALS, THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT ALLEGATIONS ARE OFFERED AND CIRCULATED FREELY IN PRIVATE BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND PARTY OFFICIALS AND THEIR SUPPORTERS. MOREOVER, THERE CAN BE LITTLE DOUBT THAT MANLEY PROVIDES TACIT CONSENT AND EVEN ENCOURAGEMENT AT TIMES TO THE MORE RADICAL OF HIS PARTY BUREAUCRATS, AND TO OTHER CONFIDENTIAL

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AND MORE RADICAL SUPPORTERS. HE ALSO MAY REIN THEM IN AT TIMES, BUT SUCH TRUCES OR LULLS QUICKLY EVAPORATE. AS AN EXAMPLE, THE AGEE VISIT PROBABLY WAS ORGANIZED WITH HIS CONSENT, AND WITH FULL KNOWLEDGE OF ALL THE RAMIFICATIONS OF SUCH A VISIT.

5. AS SUGGESTED ABOVE, PUBLIC ALLEGATIONS OF DESTABILIZATION UNTIL NOW USUALLY HAVE BEEN SOMEWHAT RESTRAINED

OR VEILED WHEN ORIGINATING FROM SENIOR GOJ OFFICIALS. LESSER POLITICAL LIGHTS AND MORE RADICAL POLITICAL FIGURES IN ALLIANCE WITH MANLEY HAVE NOT BEEN SO RESTRAINED. THE PRIME MINISTER'S PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY (ARNOLD BERTRAM), THE PNP GENERAL SECRETARY (DR. D.K. DUNCAN), THE PNP YOUTH LEADER (LUIS CASTRIOTA), AND OTHER PARTY FUNCTIONARIES HAVE BEEN MOST VOCAL AND SPECIFIC IN LABELLING THE CIA AND THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AS CULPRITS. THEY IN TURN ARE JOINED BY NON-PNP RADICAL SUPPORTERS, E.G. TREVOR MUNROE AND HIS WORKERS LIBERATION LEAGUE, AND A MISCELLANY OF OTHER SMALL RADICAL GROUPS LOOSELY AFFILIATED WITH EACH OTHER AND THE PNP YOUTH ORGANIZATION. THESE AFFILIATIONS ARE LITTLE LESS THAN A COALITION OF COMMUNIST AND NEAR-COMMUNIST GROUPS, AND ARE THE ORIGINATORS OF THE MORE SCURILLOUS DESTABILIZATION ALLEGATIONS DESCRIBED BELOW.

6. ALL OF THE FOREGOING HAS OF COURSE BEEN FED AND ENCOURAGED BY PARALLEL DESTABILIZATION ALLEGATIONS IN GUYANA AND BARBADOS, THE EVENTS AT SRI LANKA, AND COVERTLY AND OVERTLY BY THE CUBANS AND SOVIETS -- THE FORMER IN PARTICULAR. THE CUBAN HAND IS DISCERNIBLE EVERYWHERE, E.G. AT SRI LANKA, AT THE MEXICO CITY CONFERENCE OF THE LATIN AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION (WHERE THE CUBANS ENGINEERED A CONDEMNATION OF US DESTABILIZATION OF THE CARIBBEAN), AND IN NUMEROUS PRESS ACCOUNTS PLANTED BY THE CUBANS THROUGH THEIR OWN MEDIA SERVICES. THE SOVIET ROLE HAS SURFACED IN PRAVDA EDITORIALS AND NEWS STORIES. ONE CAN SUGGEST THAT SAUL LANDAU'S AUGUST 25 WASHINGTON POST STORY, AND HIS PREVIOUS IDENTICAL TESTIMONY BEFORE THE FASCELL SUBCOMMITTEE, MAY HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED BY THE CUBANS GIVEN HIS OWN PAST ASSOCIATIONS WITH THAT ISLAND. MOST CERTAINLY ONE CAN

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SUSPECT THAT SUCH IS THE CASE WITH PHILIP AGE.

7. WHAT IS DESTABILIZATION? IN ESSENCE DESTABILIZATION IS, FOR THOSE WHO CHARGE IT AND OFTEN BELIEVE IT, THE ROOT AND EXPLANATION OF ALL ILLS AND UNEXPLAINED PHENOMENA CURRENTLY BEING EXPERIENCED BY JAMAICA. INFLATION, INDUSTRIAL UNREST, UNEMPLOYMENT, FOOD

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AND OTHER CRITICAL SHORTAGES, VIOLENCE, THE DROP IN THE TOURIST TRADE, JAMAICA'S BAD PRESS ABROAD, THE CURRENT CREDIT SQUEEZE, AND THINGS THAT SIMPLY GO BUMP IN THE NIGHT ARE ALL EITHER THE SYMPTOMS OR THE ACTS OF DESTABILIZATION. THE SPECIFICS OF DESTABILIZATION, INsofar AS THEY ARE PUBLICLY OR PRIVATELY IDENTIFIED, TEND TO VARY DEPENDENT ON THE LEVEL OF SOPHISTICATION AND RADICALIZATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL OR GROUP MAKING THE ALLEGATIONS, BUT ARE GENERALLY ECONOMIC IN BASIS OR RESULT.

8. FROM MORE SOPHISTICATED AND PERHAPS MORE RESPONSIBLE SENIOR GOJ OFFICIALS AND OTHERS, THE FOLLOWING ARE THE MORE COMMONLY ALLEGED ACTS OF DESTABILIZATION.

A. THE "ORCHESTRATED PRESS CAMPAIGN AGAINST JAMAICA IN THE US AND ELSEWHERE" IS OBVIOUSLY INTENDED TO UNDERMINE TOURIST INTEREST AND INVESTOR CONFIDENCE IN JAMAICA IN AN EFFORT TO DESTABILIZE THE ECONOMY. ACCORDING TO
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PM MANLEY AND FONMIN THOMPSON, THE FIRST SHOT FIRED IN THIS "PRESS CAMPAIGN" WAS JAMES RESTON'S ARTICLE IN THE

NEW YORK TIMES EARLY THIS YEAR WHICH ALLEGED CUBAN TRAINING OF JAMAICAN POLICE, AND OTHER MAJOR CUBAN INROADS IN JAMAICA. MANLEY, FONMIN THOMPSON AND OTHERS CLAIM SECRETARY KISSINGER INSPIRED THAT ARTICLE.

B. A RELUCTANCE OF US COMMERCIAL BANKS TO EXTEND FURTHER CREDIT TO THE GOJ, AND THE REFUSAL OF THE USG TO ENCOURAGE THOSE BANKS TO CONSIDER FAVORABLY LOAN REQUESTS ARE FURTHER EVIDENCE. SO TOO ARE THE USG FAILURE TO COME THROUGH WITH A SMALL P.L. 480, TITLE I PACKAGE REQUESTED THIS PAST SPRING, AND THE USG FAILURE TO FOLLOW THROUGH ON A GOJ REQUEST, FIRST MADE INFORMALLY LAST FALL, FOR A MASSIVE PACKAGE OF CREDITS OVER THE NEXT TEN YEARS.

C. THE DESIGNATION OF KINGSTON AS A "HARDSHIP POST" FOR USG EMPLOYEES, AND RELATED ACTS DESIGNED TO DISCOURAGE TOURIST TRAVEL TO JAMAICA ARE OBVIOUS INDICATORS OF DESTABILIZATION. LINKED TO THESE ARE SUSPICIONS THAT PAN AMERICAN'S AND EASTERN'S CUT BACK OF SERVICES TO JAMAICA ARE PART OF THE DESTABILIZATION PROGRAM.

D. PRODUCTION CUTBACKS BY THE BAUXITE/ALUMINA COMPANIES, THE REFUSAL BY OPIC TO EXTEND FURTHER INSURANCE TO US INVESTORS IN JAMAICA, AND THE DRYING UP OF NEW PRIVATE CAPITAL INVESTMENT ARE CLEARLY DESTABILIZATION. SO TOO ARE SOME INSTANCES OF INDUSTRIAL UNREST -- ESPECIALLY IN THE BAUXITE/ALUMINA INDUSTRY. RECALCITRANT US MULTINATIONALS REFUSE TO ACCEPT "REASONABLE" DEMANDS OF THE UNIONS (PRIMARILY THE NWU - THE LABOR WING OF THE PNP) AND IN THE PROCESS ASSURE STRIKES, UNREST, LABOR VIOLENCE, AND FURTHER CUTS IN PRODUCTION TO THE DETRIMENT OF A WIDE RANGE OF JAMAICAN INTERESTS.

E. GUNS ARE SMUGGLED INTO JAMAICA TO KEEP THE LEVEL OF VIOLENCE UP, AND TO ARM THE GOVERNMENT'S OPPOSITION. THE ALLEGED SOURCES FOR THESE WEAPONS ARE THE "MAFIA", PERHAPS IN ALLIANCE WITH ANTI-MANLEY FORCES IN THE JAMAICAN COMMUNITY IN THE US, AND BY CONFIDENTIAL

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IMPLICATION THE USG AND THE MULTINATIONALS.

9. AMONG THE MORE EXTREME ALLEGATIONS ARE THE FOLLOWING.

A. THE CIA, OPERATING THROUGH MANLEY'S POLITICAL OPPOSITION, AND IN ALLIANCE WITH THE MULTINATIONALS AND OTHER AGENTS, INCLUDING EVEN PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS AND MISSIONARIES, IS RESPONSIBLE FOR PROMOTING VIOLENCE THROUGHOUT KINGSTON. THE TRAGIC ORANGE ST. FIRE

OF THIS PAST MAY (WHEN A GANG OF ARMED THUGS FIRED A TENEMENT, HELD OFF THE POLICE AND FIRE DEPARTMENT, AND THREW WOMEN AND BABIES INTO THE FIRE) WAS CLEARLY "TOO WELL ORGANIZED" TO HAVE BEEN THOUGHT UP BY JAMAICA'S INDIGENOUS TROUBLEMAKERS. CLEARLY THE FINE HAND OF THE CIA WAS PRESENT.

B. SIMILARLY, A FLOUR POISONING EPISODE OF EARLY THIS YEAR, WHICH RESULTED IN NUMEROUS DEATHS, WAS AN ACT OF THE CIA AND ITS LOCAL STOOGES (THE FLOUR HAD BEEN CONTAMINATED IN SHIPMENT BY AN INSECTICIDE).

C. SPORADIC SHORTAGES OF BASIC FOODSTUFFS ARE SOMEHOW ORGANIZED BY THE CIA AND THE MULTINATIONALS.

D. THE FLIGHT OF CAPITAL, ENTREPRENEURS, AND JAMAICANS IN GENERAL FROM JAMAICA IS AIDED AND ABETTED BY THE USG. AND SO ON IT GOES ENDLESSLY AND LUDICROUSLY -- TO THE POINT THAT EVEN BURGLARIES AND BREAKINS (E.G. RECENT BREAK-INS AT THE MINISTER OF TRADE'S OFFICE) ARE ELEMENTS OF DESTABILIZATION.

10. WHY DESTABILIZE JAMAICA? FOR THOSE THAT LEVY THE ALLEGATIONS, THE ANSWERS ARE OBVIOUS. JAMAICA HAS DARED TO BE DIFFERENT AND INDEPENDENT. IT IS NOW BEING PUNISHED BY THE USG/CIA/MULTINATIONALS/CAPITALIST/IMPERIALIST GROUPING AND ITS LOCAL HENCHMEN. THE GOAL IS, AS PREVIOUSLY INDICATED, AT LEAST TO MAKE THE MANLEY GOVERNMENT TOE THE LINE, AND ULTIMATELY TO RESTORE TO OFFICE THE LOCAL AGENTS OF US CAPITALISM/IMPERIALISM IN ORDER TO PROTECT US MULTINATIONAL INTERESTS. HOW WAS JAMAICA DIFFERENT AND INDEPENDENT? SIMPLE: THE BAUXITE
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LEVY, DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM, JAMAICANIZATION OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT, FRIENDSHIP WITH CUBA, SUPPORT OF THE MPLA,' AND SO ON. AGEE, DURING HIS JAMAICAN VISIT, HAS OFFERED VARIANTS ON THE ABOVE. HE SUGGESTS THAT JAMAICA IS BEING "DESTABILIZED" TO PROTECT US INTERESTS AND REQUIREMENTS IN JAMAICA, A MAJOR SOURCE OF BAUXITE, AND TO ASSURE THAT THE JAMAICAN SOCIALIST EXPERIMENT FAILS. HE COMMENTS THAT JAMAICA'S "PROGRESS" TOWARD SOCIALISM (LIKE THAT IN CUBA) MUST BE CONCEALED FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- ESPECIALLY DEPRIVED MINORITY GROUPS. AMERICANS, IF THEY KNEW THE TRUE STORY OF CUBA AND JAMAICA, WOULD WANT THE SAME FOR THEMSELVES.

11. PROOF THAT JAMAICA IS BEING DESTABILIZED? IT IS ALL AROUND US; JAMAICANS BY THEMSELVES WOULD NEVER DO THESE TERRIBLE THINGS. MOREOVER, IF THE USG IS NOT ORCHESTRATING

THE US PRESS, WHY DOES IT NOT "TELL THE TRUTH ABOUT JAMAICA" TO THE PRESS? IF STORIES ABOUT THE REASONS FOR DESIGNATING KINGSTON A "HARDSHIP" POST ARE IN ERROR, WHY DOES THE USG NOT ISSUE CORRECTIVE INFORMATION? IF THE USG IS NOT TRYING TO UNDERMINE JAMAICA'S ECONOMY, WHY

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DOES IT REFUSE TO ENCOURAGE TOURISM TO JAMAICA, NEW US INVESTMENT, NEW COMMERICAL LOANS, AND APPROVAL OF VARIOUS NEW AID AND OTHER USG GRANTS AND LOANS? IN SHORT, IF THE USG IS NOT DESTABILIZING JAMAICA AND DOES SEEK GOOD BILATERAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH JAMAICA, WHY DOES IT NOT TAKE POSITIVE ACTIONS TO COUNTERACT THE DIRE DEEDS OF OTHERS? AGEE'S VISIT AND ALLEGATIONS GAVE ADDED CREDENCE TO ALL OF THE FOREGOING.

12. WHO BELIEVES IN DESTABILIZATION? AT THIS TIME, A HIGH PROPORTION OF ALL BUT THE MOST CONSERVATIVE AND EVEN MANY FRIENDLY ELEMENTS OF JAMAICAN SOCIETY BELIEVE OR SUSPECT THAT UNFRIENDLY AND HOSTILE ACTS ARE INDEED BEING PERPETUATED AGAINST JAMAICA BY OUTSIDE FORCES. THERE IS EXTENSIVE BELIF THAT THERE IS AN ORCHESTRATED PRESS

CAMPAIGN DIRECTED AGAINST JAMAICA. THE USG MAY NOT BE AT FAULT, BUT IF IT IS NOT, SOMEONE ELSE IS -- PERHAPS THE MULTINATIONALS. WHY ELSE THE ENORMOUS AMOUNT OF ADVERSE AND UNFAIR ATTENTION TO POOR LITTLE JAMAICA? BEYOND THIS BXTIC ARTICLE OF FAITH, AND AT THE EXTREME, CONFIDENTIAL

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THE DEGREE OF BELIEF INCLUDES EVERYTHING LISTED ABOVE (AND OTHER ITEMS) AMONG THE MORE RADICALIZED ELEMENTS OF JAMAICAN SOCIETY, AND AMONG A HIGH PROPORTION OF STUDENTS AND FACULTY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES. IN THE MIDDLE OR LEFT OF CENTER, THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT PM MANLEY, FOMMIN THOMPSON, AND VARIOUS OTHER KEY LEADERS WITHIN THE OJ AND GOVERNING PNP NOT ONLY CHARGE BUT ALSO BELIEVE IN VARYING DEGREE (DESPITE OCCASIONAL PROTESTATIONS TO THE CONTRARY) A RANGE OF THE MORE SOPHISTICATED ALLEGATIONS. IN OFFERING AND BELIEVING THESE ALLEGATIONS, THEY TEND TO SEPARATE OUT THE CIA FROM THE REST OF THE USG AND, SOMETIMES ASSUME IT OPERATES AS AN INDEPENDENT AGENT, PERHAPS IN ALLIANCE WITH THE MULTINATIONALS. HOWEVER, AGEE HAS BEEN CAREFUL TO UNDERSCORE THAT THE CIA IS ONLY ONE TOOL OF AN ENTIRE U.S. APPARATUS GEARED TO DESTABILIZE JAMAICA. THIS COMMENT PROBABLY GAINED CONSIDERABLE CREDENCE IN THE COURSE OF AGEE'S VISIT.

13. DESTABILIZATION, THE CIA AND THE AGEE VISIT. AT THIS WRITING AGEE REMAINS IN TOWN, AND HIS ACTIVITIES ARE BEING REPORTED ON SEPARATELY AND AT LENGTH. AN ASSESSMENT OF THE DAMAGE DONE AND OF IMPLICATIONS FOR OUR POLICIES AND INTERESTS HERE ALSO WILL FOLLOW SEPARATELY. SEVERAL MAJOR POINTS CAN BE MADE NOW

(A) IT IS CERTAIN THAT AGEE'S VISIT WAS ARRANGED AND IS BEING ORCHESTRATED BY MANLEY'S MORE RADICAL ASSOCIATES PROBABLY WITH HIS FULL CONSENT. (B) THE MASSIVE MEDIA COVERAGE (PRIMARILY RADIO AND TV SEVERAL TIMES DAILY SINCE SEPTEMBER 10) PROVIDED BY GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED STATIONS HAS ASSURED SATURATION PUBLIC COVERAGE AND KNOWLEDGE OF HIS ALLEGATIONS, AND THEIR LINKAGE TO SPECIFIC JAMAICAN CONCERNS AND PHENOMENA. (C) HIS CREDENTIALS ARE IMPRESSIVE TO MANY JAMAICANS, BUT IT IS TOO EARLY TO DETERMINE WHETHER A SMALL OR LARGE NUMBER OF PREVIOUS "NON-BELIEVERS" HAS BEEN "WON OVER". (D) THE CHARACTER OF HIS PRESENCE AND ALLEGATIONS MOST CERTAINLY SIGNAL A DANGEROUS TURN IN US/JAMAICAN RELATIONSHIPS, AND A NEW THREAT TO MANY RESIDENTS. CONFIDENTIAL

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AMERICANS WHO, BY IMPLICATION AND INNUENDO, MAY BE VIEWED BY SOME AS CIA GENTS. (E) AGEE'S VISIT WOULD APPEAR TO CONFIRM THAT "DESTABILIZATION" WILL BE A MAJOR THEME IN THE JAMAICAN ELECTION CAMPAIGN. THE OPPOSITION AND INDEPENDENT PRESS ALREADY HAVE BEEN LABELLED BY AGEE AS PROBABLE ACCOMPLICES OF THE CIA. THE EXTENT TO WHICH THESE THEMES AND CHARGES WILL BE PRESSED MAY BECOME CLEAR IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS AT THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE GOVERNING PNP.

14. CONCLUSION: GIVEN EXISTING LEVELS OF PARANOIA WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE GOJ (BUT ESPECIALLY ON THE PART OF MANLEY AND HIS COTERIE OF RADICAL ADVISERS AND SUPPORTERS) THERE IS LITTLE WE CAN DO OF A PRACTICAL CHARACTER IN THE SHORT TERM TO REMOVE ALL SUSPICIONS. MOREOVER, THE CURRENT ELECTION CAMPAIGN (WHICH PROMISES TO STRETCH THROUGH THE EARLY MONTHS OF 1977) REQUIRES, FOR THE MANLEY GOVERNMENT, AND EXTERNAL SCAPEGOAT FOR ALL OF JAMAICA'S ILLS. EVEN SHOULD WE SUCCEED IN CONVINCING MANLEY OF OUR INNOCENCE, HIS PARTY INEVITABLY MUST CONTINUE THE CAMPAIGN IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER AS A DEFENSIVE MECHANISM. AT BEST, HE MAY HIMSELF REFRAIN FROM MAKING PUBLIC CHARGES -- BUT WE DOUBT IT. HE WILL NOT PREVENT OTHERS FROM FREE-WHEELING AT OUR EXPENSE ON THE HUSTINGS; TO SOME DEGREE THE DESTABILIZATION CAMPAIGN HAS IN FACT MOVED BEYOND HIS CONTROL. HIS INFLUENCE OVER THE MORE RADICAL ELEMENTS OF HIS PARTY IS TENUOUS AT BEST. HIS SOMETIME ENEMIES AND FREQUENT RADICAL ALLIES OUTSIDE THE PARTY (E.G. THE WORKERS LIBERATION LEAGUE, THE COMMUNIST PARTY, THE SUGAR WORKERS COOPERATIVE COUNCIL, AND THE SOCIAL ACTION CENTER) ARE ALL FREE AGENTS BEYOND PNP DISCIPLINE.

15. IN SUM, WE CAN EXPECT A CONTINUATION AND AN INTENSIFICATION OF THE PRESENT CAMPAIGN OF DESTABILIZATION ALLEGATIONS. INDEED THE CAREFUL ORCHESTRATION OF THE AGEE VISIT SUGGESTS THAT THE WORST MAY BE YET TO COME -- INCLUDING A FURTHER EROSION OF AN ALREADY POISONED PUBLIC CLIMATE WHICH POSES MAJOR QUESTIONS VIS-A-VIS THE SAFETY OF SOME MISSION STAFF, NOT TO MENTION RESIDENT U.S. BUSINESSMEN, MISSIONARIES, AND PEACE CORPS

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VOLUNTEERS. THIS SITUATION OBVIOUSLY REQUIRES ANOTHER LOOK AT THE CHARACTER OF EXISTING U.S. POLICY TOWARD AND PROGRAMS WITHIN JAMAICA -- NOT TO MENTION THE FULL

RANGE OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH JAMAICA.
THESE BROADER QUESTIONS WILL BE ADDRESSED IN FOLLOWUP
MESSAGES IN THE COMING DAYS AND WEEKS.
GERARD

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